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ABSTRACT

Through an examination of the discourse markers "ano" and "sono" in Japanese (commonly characterized as demonstrative adjectives but which cannot be used interchangeably in a context), this paper explores how these linguistic devices function in conversation found in Japanese writings. The focus of this analysis is the mental and social functions through which a speaker attempts to achieve an interpersonal rapport with a listener. In particular, it addresses why the speaker cannot use these discourse markers interchangeably in a context. Data reveal how the speaker distinguishes one discourse marker from another, depending on the focus of the utterance. Results show that the discourse markers are used as either a cataphoric marker or an anaphoric marker and that they help the speaker to focus on the particular utterance that may be important to the listener. (Contains 14 references.) (Author/SM)

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Functions of Discourse Markers in Japanese

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Through an examination of the discourse markers ano and sono in Japanese, this paper explores how these linguistic devices function in conversation found in Japanese writings. The focus of this analysis is the mental and social functions through which a speaker attempts to achieve an interpersonal rapport with a listener. In particular, the question addresses why the speaker cannot use these discourse markers interchangeably in a context. The data reveal how the speaker distinguishes one discourse marker from another, depending on the focus of the utterance. Results show that the discourse markers are used as either a cataphoric marker or an anaphoric marker and that they help the speaker to focus on the particular utterance that may be important to the listener.

INTRODUCTION

In studies of Japanese discourse, many researchers have focused on functions of sentence final particles (e.g., Cook, 1992; Maynard, 1989; Ohta, 1991) and speech fillers (e.g., Cook, 1993; Koide, 1983; Maynard, 1989; Sadanobu & Takubo, 1995). In each study, these discourse markers have played an important role in softening utterances and establishing an interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the listener. In the view of these researchers, discourse markers in Japanese allow speakers to express their thoughts and feelings without saying as much in so many words. For example, examinations of the discourse marker *ano* documented the way in which *ano* indicates alignment between the speaker and the listener in face-to-face interaction (Cook, 1993) and how speakers extract linguistic information from their stored knowledge after using *ano* (Sadanobu & Takubo, 1995). These studies suggest that the discourse marker allows interlocutors to communicate interpersonally.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the use of particular discourse markers that are commonly characterized as demonstrative adjectives, but which cannot be used interchangeably in a context. The paper discusses the discourse markers *ano* and *sono* and examines how these discourse markers function differently in conversation. I propose that these discourse markers occur as fillers in a context where the speaker continues to speak after using the marker. I exclude sentence final particles that are also part of discourse markers in Japanese because my focus in this paper is to look at the function of *ano* and *sono* as fillers.

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BACKGROUND

Discourse Markers in English

Discourse markers are characterized as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 31). In other words, their function is to refer to the utterance that occurs before or after a discourse marker. In English, discourse markers appear in syntactically different environments. For example, there are word-level discourse markers like *oh, well, and, but, or, so, because, like, now,* and *then*. On the other hand, discourse markers such as *I mean, let me think,* and *y'know* are classified as clauses, although an object is required for the clause *I mean* that is equivalent to the Japanese discourse marker *sono*. Each discourse marker functions in a different way and occurs in various positions of an utterance.

A discourse marker may appear in the initial, final, or middle position in an utterance. Goffman (1974) emphasizes that the discourse marker in the initial position of an utterance has more important functions because it establishes an episode and defines "what kind of transformation is to be made of the materials within the episode" (p. 255). Consider the following examples in English conversation. Number (2) is an invented example taken from Mohan (1979).

(1) (Beginning a lecture in front of an audience)
Well . . . today, I am going to talk about Japanese society.

(2) (Explaining directions to the train station to a stranger)
Oh, the central station? Well now, let me think . . . it's, just a moment, yes I think it's . . .um . . .yes, I know . . . it's er . . . it's the second street on the left . . . yes, that's it.

In (1), the speaker uses *well* in the initial position of his utterance, which indicates that the discourse marker serves to show his cognitive process of producing the utterance as well as to draw the listeners' attention. When discourse markers are used in the initial position, they also reduce the abrupt impression of the speech to the listener (Mohan, 1979). In (2), the speaker can provide the information without discourse markers: "The central station? It is the second street on the left past the town hall." With the discourse markers *oh, well now, let me think, um,* and *er,* the speaker shows his mental processes of producing utterances and his intention to continue the turn in spite of brief pauses. While utterances can occur without discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987), the speaker's intention may change slightly depending on whether or not the discourse markers are used.

Although the speaker may not intend to change the meaning of the utterance with discourse markers, it is indicative of functions of his or her social and mental processes. According to Schourup's (1983) view, these discourse

markers have multiple functions and allow the speaker to show his or her mental processes in an appropriate manner:

> There is room within the tonus of a conversation for much private thought. We form overall judgments, plan provisional responses, rank and revise them, store questions, foresee the need for further conversations, and so on, and routinely do these things while someone else is talking, or while we ourselves hold the turn (p. 3).

Although the speaker's thoughts are not expressed fully, different forms of discourse markers help the speaker convey mental content to the listener. As defined by Schourup, the speaker's mind is involved in various mental activities, and discourse markers occur when the speaker is working on what to say next. Consequently, this process will allow the speaker to convey his or her thoughts indirectly.

Discourse Markers in Japanese

In several studies, Japanese discourse markers have been noted as playing a role in increasing the politeness of utterances. Japanese discourse markers have syntactic variations as in English; for example, *ano, sono, eeto, unto, nanka, tsumari, jitsuwa, sonodesunee,* and *nante iimasuka* are employed in different positions in utterances. They are also considered as hesitation or gap fillers. Number (3) shows how discourse markers can function as hesitation fillers.

(3) (Explaining the reason for not coming)
Jitsuwa . . . sonoo . . . hoka no yakusoku ga attan desu yo.
Jitsuwa . . . sonoo . . . I had another appointment.

In (3), the speaker displays his hesitancy to avoid the abrupt impression of his utterance explaining why he did not come. These discourse markers in the beginning of the utterance focuses on the speaker's hesitancy toward his speech, and therefore, the listener is able to perceive that the speaker attempts to produce utterances without knowing how to express them.

Sadanobu and Takubo (1995) investigated discourse markers *ano* and *eeto* with respect to a speaker's mental processes while producing utterances. According to these authors, *ano* functions to extract a speaker's linguistic information from a mental database where various information is stored, data is searched, or where calculations are conducted if necessary. In contrast, *eeto* shows that the speaker is temporarily working on producing utterances in the mental database. Sadanobu and Takubo's findings suggested that discourse markers are not always interchangeable in a context and reflect the speaker's thoughts while he is speaking. In the following examples, a discourse marker with a double question mark indicates inappropriate use.

(4) a: *Kono eiga no kantoku tte dare dakke?*
Who is the director of this movie?
b: *Anoo/Eeto, Kitano Takeshi.*
Anoo/Eeto, that's Kitano Takeshi.

(5) a: *Ni kakeru go wa?*
Two times five?
b: *Eeto/??Ano, jyuu.*
Eeto, it's ten.

Example (4) shows that both *anoo* and *eeto* are used in situationally appropriate ways. The speaker's use of *anoo* implies his mental process of extracting the linguistic information from his database, assuming that the name of the movie director has already been stored in the speaker's knowledge. Using *eeto,* the speaker shows his mental process of searching for the name of a movie director rather than finding the name of the movie director himself. Example (5) displays the appropriate use of *eeto* in this context because the speaker is not extracting linguistic information, and the answer for the multiplication is not stored in the speaker's resource. The discourse marker *anoo* is not situationally appropriate here. *Eeto* is appropriate because the speaker is not looking for the information that is not stored but is producing an answer after calculation.

The discourse markers *ano* and *eeto* also mark a different mental or social functions in requests. Consider the following contrast from Sadanobu and Takubo. Utterances with asterisks are considered impolite.

(6) a. *Anoo, mado o akete morae masu ka?*
Anoo, would you please open the window?
b. * *Mado o akete morae masu ka?*
Would you please open the window?
c. * *Eeto, mado o akete morae masu ka?*
Eeto, would you please open the window?

In (6a) the speaker reduces the abruptness of the speech by using *anoo* and shows his consideration of the style of speech he is engaged in to make a request. In considering the function of *ano* or *anoo* as indicative of extracting linguistic information from the mental database, the speaker uses the discourse marker appropriately, and in this view the expression to make a request is polite. On the other hand, the request in (6b) sounds too blunt to give a polite impression to the listener. Therefore, this request is viewed as impolite and situationally inappropriate. Furthermore, *eeto* is used neither appropriately nor politely in (6c), since the speaker is not temporarily working on producing an utterance in the context. In this instance it is unlikely that *eeto* occurs when the speaker makes a request. As discussed previously, Sadanobu and Takubo's study provides us

examples to explain the speaker's mental processes when the speaker uses discourse markers *anoo* and *eeto* in various contexts.

The frequent use of discourse markers indicates the listener's involvement in conversation along with the speaker. Cook (1993) examined the discourse marker *ano* using naturally occurring conversation data and compared its social functions with the sentence final particle *ne*. The researcher suggested that the discourse markers *ano* and *ne* have a similar function because both markers index the interpersonal rapport between interlocutors. In Cook's conclusion, *ano* helps a speaker redress Brown and Levinson's (1987) face-threatening act through which the speaker interrupts a listener's "freedom of action" (p. 134) with orders, requests, or suggestions.

As explained earlier, discourse markers function in various ways, and it is likely that there are more functions in Japanese than in English, which allow the Japanese speaker to achieve a mutual understanding of the conversation with the listener. Appendix A displays a summary of functions of discourse markers in Japanese conversation. *Ano* has been examined in various contexts where it occurs as a discourse marker, yet researchers have not provided a better understanding of its sister discourse marker *sono*. To provide a coherent explanation of how discourse markers are used in conversation, I will analyze these linguistic devices in various contexts. In the following section of this paper I explore written discourse in which the discourse markers *ano* and *sono* occur individually or together.

ANALYSIS

To investigate uses of the discourse markers *ano* and *sono* in conversation, three volumes of fictional stories and one volume of a non-fictional story were examined. Obviously, conversation in written discourse does not represent natural speech, and what I refer to as an utterance in this study is the kind that is created or reproduced by the characters in it. For observation, stories offer theoretically natural data to discuss the discourse markers, since they are reproduced as naturally occurring conversations.

Uses of *Ano* in Discourse

In the data analyzed below there are cases where the discourse marker *ano* is used for a variety of purposes. A speaker produces *ano* before producing utterances and beginning a conversation, where the alignment between the speaker and the listener is established.

Consider Segment 1 below. The discourse marker *ano* is used with the sentence final particle *ne* to get a listener's attention and start a conversation (Cook, 1993). In line 2 Chiaki is talking about her future plans to her boss, Heizo, while he is drinking. Chiaki and Heizo seem to be attracted to each other.

Segment 1

1 *Sarani kanai zenbu ni ki o tukatte, junkatsuyu ni natte kurete iru yoona, kokoro kiita Chiaki ga oranaku naruto sureba, Heizoo wa nakitai omoi da.*

Heizo would cry if Chiaki—who is considerate to the employees and helps to reduce friction—left the company. Heizo should not think about it when he is drinking and feeling weak-spirited.

2 *"Ano ne, atashi wa, moshi, hokano kaisha e kawattara, apaato demo betsuni karite ie mo deyoo ka na, nante omou n desu..."*

(Chiaki said,) "Ano ne, I am thinking about moving out and looking for an apartment, if I change my job."

3 *Chiaki wa sake o heizo ni tsuide kurete, sonna koto o iu.*

Chiaki said this while serving a drink to Heizo.

(Tanabe, 1979, p. 339)

The initial *ano* with the sentence final particle *ne* can simply work as an attention-getter, through which Chiaki reveals her plan to Heizo who may not want her to carry it out. Additionally, when *ano* occurs in the beginning of the utterance, the abruptness of the utterance may be reduced. In this way, the speaker is able to initiate the listener's involvement with the conversation using *ano* and *ne*, even though the listener participates in the conversation without any comment in this context.

The speaker also uses *ano* with elongation before he talks about a topic that may be difficult to introduce. Consider Segment 2. Professor T. is using *ano* before he asks for a washbasin from Mr. Ishimatsu for his treatment of hemorrhoids:

Segment 2

1 *"Nan desu ka, T-sensei, mizukusai. Sonna toki no tame no watashi de wa arimasen ka. Ittai doo nasareta no desu ka?"*

(Mr. Ishimatsu said,) "What is it? You seem so formal, Prof T. That's what I'm here for. What's wrong with you?"

2 *Soo ii nagara mo watashi wa kokoro no soko de wa mushimushi, mushimushi to omotte iru no desu kara doo shiyoo mo arimasen.*

While I (Mr. Ishimatsu) was saying this, I could not bear feeling so frustrated.

3 *"Anoo, otaku ni senmenki wa naide shoo ka. Attara chotto kashite itadaki tai no desu ga."*

(Prof T. said,) "Anoo, do you have a washbasin? If so, could I borrow it?"

4 *"Senmenki! Senmenki nante nai desu nee, amerika jaa sonna mono tsukaimasen shi ne. Onabe nara arimasu keredo, dame desu ka? Demo, ittai doo nasareta no desu ka?"*

(Mr. Ishimatsu said,) "A washbasin? I don't have a washbasin. We don't use such a thing in America. I have a pot, though. Doesn't that work? What's wrong with you, by the way?"

5 *"Jitsuwa, Ishimatsu-san, biroona hanashi na no desu ga, watakushi ji na n desu."*

(Professor T. said,) "To tell you the truth, Mr. Ishimatsu, it is not a nice thing to mention, but I have been suffering from hemorrhoids."

(Ishimatsu, 1991, p. 111)

In line 3 Professor T.'s use of *ano* with an elongation suggests that he intends to continue his utterance but hesitates to explain his embarrassing experience. In line 5 Professor T. finally reveals to Mr. Ishimatsu that he suffers from hemorrhoids, and he does so very hesitantly. Using *ano*, Professor T. reduces the abruptness of the utterance so he can gradually introduce the topic that may be embarrassing to him. Borrowing a washbasin itself is not humiliating at all, but it seems more embarrassing for Professor T. to confess his medical problem to Mr. Ishimatsu in line 5. In this view, the discourse marker allows the speaker to moderate the introduction of the topic that he finds difficult to explain.

Consider Segment 3. Matakichi is talking by phone about the owner of a sport fishing store. The owner does not agree to become a witness of the accident in which the speaker and the listener were involved. The speaker uses *ano* before the conversation to reduce the abrupt impression of his speech:

Segment 3

1 *Suujitsu shite, yatto Matakichi-san kara denwa ga atta.*

A few days later, (Mr. Ishimatsu) finally received a call from Matakichi.

2 *"Ano, tsuridoogu-ya ni ittan desu keredo, shoonin ni wa natte kurenai n desu."*

(Matakichi said,) "Ano, I went to the sport fishing store, but he does not want to become a witness."

3 *Tayorinai koe da.*

(Mr. Ishimatsu thought,) (Matakichi's) voice sounds dissatisfied.
(Ishimatsu, 1991, p. 73)

In line 2, the use of *ano* is indicative of the speaker's consideration to the listener, since he is talking about an event Matakichi and the listener did not expect. The speaker attempts to reduce the blunt impression of the utterance that may disappoint the listener. While Matakichi does not directly disagree with the listener, he talks about what is expected. This may imply that "when the speaker disagrees with the addressee, such a usage of *ano* simultaneously serves as a positive politeness strategy" (Cook, 1993, pp. 24-25). Thus, *ano* helps the speaker to mitigate the face-threatening act of disagreeing with the listener and to ensure cooperation.

As examined earlier, the discourse marker *ano* refers to the utterance that follows immediately, and from this point of view it is defined as a cataphoric marker. The focus of the discourse appears after *ano*, not before. It is the utterances that come after *ano* that are emphasized. In this way, the speaker can draw the listener's attention to the topic. If the discourse marker *ano* acts as a cataphoric marker, this explains why it frequently occurs at the beginning of utterances.

Uses of *Sono* in Discourse Markers

The discourse marker *sono* has different functions from the discourse marker *ano*. In this examination, *sono* is used before a speaker comments reluctantly on what the listener already knows, and he avoids repeating the utterance that the listener might know.

In Segment 4, Mr. Fukuda and other employees peeked into the female guests' room during a trip, and this is revealed to their boss Mr. Shibaoka. Fukuda uses the discourse marker *sono*, assuming that Mr. Shibaoka already knows what Mr. Fukuda wants to imply.

Segment 4

1 *Mattaku, (maido no koto de aru ga) wakai mono no yancha buri ni wa tekozura sareru.Shibaraku shite futari ga, Fukuda o tsurete kaette kita.*

Really, the young employees give me a lot of trouble, (Mr. Shibaoka thought). After a while, two employees came back with Mr. Fukuda.

2 *"Donai shiten, omae ga genkyoo ka."*

(Mr. Shibaoka said,) "Did you do something wrong? Are you a rascal?"

3 *"Iya, sono . . . . soo warui koto shite mahen."*

"No, sono . . . I haven't done such a bad thing," (Mr. Fukuda said).

4 *Fukuda mo yoi no mawatta kao o shite ita. Kerori to shite iru no de, katawara kara Yoshitani ga,*

(Mr. Shibaoka thought) Mr. Fukuda looked like he was getting drunk, too. Since (Mr. Fukuda) acted as if nothing had happened, Mr. Yoshitani who was standing by said,

5 *"Rinshitsu ga onna no ko bakkari no guruupu na n de, koitsura, teeburu ya isu tsunde, rinkan kara nozoite itotta n desu naa."*

(Mr. Yoshitani said,) "They were peeking into the next room—piling up the table and chairs—since there were only female guests in it."

6 *Bakana yatsura me.*

How stupid they were, (Mr. Shibaoka thought).

(Tanabe, 1979, p. 172)

In line 3, using *iya* (no), Mr. Fukuda's attitude seems ambiguous, and he neither agrees nor disagrees with Mr. Shibaoka's question in line 2. However, Mr. Fukuda obviously cannot respond to the question since he cannot overlook what he has done, which does not seem entirely bad. Mr. Fukuda's use of the discourse marker *sono* indicates that the previous utterance may have been understood by Mr. Shibaoka. Discourse markers commonly occur to show the speaker's hesitancy (Koide, 1983; Maynard, 1989; Mohan, 1979); a function that *ano* and *sono* often demonstrate. What differentiates these two discourse markers, however, is that *ano* occurs before a speaker provides new information, while *sono* occurs after the speaker comments on what has already been shared with the listener.

Sono occurs before a speaker makes an additional comment on what the listener said, as seen in the following example. The discourse marker *sono* functions to refer to the previous utterance and show that the following utterance is related to the previous one. In Segment 5, Akiko is talking with her friend Noriko about her boyfriend.

Segment 5

1 *"[...]Soodan tte, tsumari, puropoozu sareta wake?" to Tange Noriko wa itta.*

"[...] What you want to say is, in a word, that you were proposed to?" Tange Noriko asked (Akiko).

2 *"Ee, puropoozu wa muron, sareta keredomo, sono, tsumari . . . nan te iu ka."*

(Akiko said,) "Yes, of course I was proposed to, but, sono, in short . . . (I do not know) what to say."

3 *Akiko wa hito ichibai hazukarigarina no ka, soretomo, mikeiken no hai-misu to iu no wa, wakai musume yori shuuchishin ga tsuyoi no ka, dooshitemo ware kara kuchi ni noboserare nai no de aru.*

Akiko cannot explain to Noriko, because Akiko might be shier than other people, or this sexually inexperienced lady might have a stronger sense of shame than younger adults.

4 *Akiko wa utsukushii kubi made, makka ni shite ita.*

Even Akiko's beautiful neck became red.

5 *"Hahan, wakatta, tsumari neyoo, tte sasowareteru wake . . ."*

(Noriko said,) "Well, I knew it; in short, you have been asked to sleep . . ."

(Tanabe, 1978, pp. 52-53)

In line 2 *sono* serves to share the previous utterance by both interlocutors. Noriko already knows what Akiko wants to say, and in this way, *sono* occurs before the speaker refers to the utterance that has been already discussed with the listener. Unlike the discourse marker *ano* that is used before the utterance, *sono* is used before the speaker adds a comment to what the listener already knows. In fact, Akiko does not answer Noriko's question in line 1, but Noriko answers it herself in line 5. The speaker agrees with Noriko's question, and it seems that Akiko wants to say more. This suggests that *sono* is used after the speaker had shared her thoughts beforehand with the listener, and that she wanted to make more comments that may have been difficult to explain.

Unlike *ano*, which is used as a cataphoric marker, the discourse marker *sono* occurs on the assumption that the topic of the conversation may have been already shared by interlocutors, and that the speaker needs to cautiously add comments to it. In this way, then, the discourse marker *sono* functions as an

anaphoric marker. Thus, the focus of the utterance lies in the utterance that was produced before the discourse marker. Moreover, the frequent use of the discourse marker *sono* may explain why the speaker does not repeat the same utterance but replaces it with the discourse marker.

Uses of *Ano* and *Sono* in Discourse

As shown previously, speakers may use either *ano* or *sono* in conversation. The discourse marker *ano* is often used before producing an utterance that has not been completed successfully. *Sono* is used to refer to what has been implied after *ano*, and what the speaker believes the listener has understood.

In the following segment Mr. Urai is asked by his wife to share his bed with her, although he does not want to do it:

Segment 6

1 *"Kedo, washi wa . . ."*

"But, I . . ." (said Mr. Urai.)

2 *"Soko ga hassoo no tenkan yo, sore ga daini no jinsei yanka, daburu beddo nante, wakai toki mo tsukawana n da wa, ippen yatte mitakatta n da, omochiro."*

"You have to change your way of thinking. That's what the Golden Age is. I never used a double bed when I was young. I wanted to use it once. I thought it would be interesting" (said his wife).

3 *"Ano na, ..."*

"Ano na . . ."

4 *"Wakatteru wa, kata ga samui,tte iu n de sho, fuyu ja nai shi, daijoobu yo, kaze nanka hikanai tte."*

"I know that you think your shoulder will get cold. It will be all right, because it is not winter now. You won't get cold, you know."

5 *"Iya . . . ."*

"No...."

6 *"A, semakutte kata ga koru, tte iu no, atashi chiisai kara jama ni naranai, naranai, buhahaha, daburu beddo da zoo."*

"Oh, you think that you will have a stiff shoulder because you have less space. I won't disturb you, because I am small. Ha-ha, you know, it is a double bed."

7 *"Mumu, sono . . . . ."*

"Mmm, sono...."

8 *"Iya da, hanikande ru, wahaha, iyoiyo omochiroi. Waai, otoosan to daburu beddo ni neru n da, n da, n da, zama miro."*

"Well, you seem shy. Ha-ha, it is going to be more comical. Wow, I am going to sleep with you in the double bed, so there!"

(Tanabe, 1998, pp. 164-165)

In this excerpt we see that Mr. Urai shows his unwillingness to sleep in the same bed as his wife. In line 3 Mr. Urai's use of *ano* with the sentence final particle *na* indicates his desire to avoid a blunt explanation of why he does not want to share a bed and also his consideration of the listener's feelings. Thus, he begins a new turn in the conversation. This attempt is unsuccessful, though, and Mr. Urai is interrupted by his wife. While Mr. Urai seems to be afraid to hurt his wife's feelings in line 5, in line 7 he uses the discourse marker *sono* to indicate that he expects her to understand how he feels about sleeping with her in his bed without fully explaining it. This suggests that a speaker may say something important after *ano* and before *sono,* and the referent that he or she points to may be identical while it is not clearly mentioned in the context.

Ano occurs before the speaker begins to produce an important utterance, and he uses *sono* after briefly explaining to the listener, highlighting the utterance that follows immediately. Consider Segment 7. Mr. Aoi is revealing his secret to his female co-worker Ms. Asahara that he has loved her since she began to work at the company, and this surprises her.

Segment 7

1 *"Boku wa, ano . . . . ."*

(Mr. Aoi said,) "I, ano...."

2 *Aoi no goi wa itsumo " . . ." ga tsuku tokoro ni tokuchoo ga aru. Kokoro bosoi ga yuu o furu tte iu, to iu kanji de.*

Aoi's (sentence) ending is always characterized as "...." (It is) as if he feels helpless but picks up his courage.

3 *"Asahara-san ga, eigyoo ni itte kara zuutto shitte mashi ten . . ."*

(Mr. Aoi continued,) "I have known you, Asahara-san, since (you) came to the sales department."

4 *"Ee, datte atashi, nyuusha irai, eigyoo da yo."*

(Ms. Asahara said,) "Oh, because I have been in the sales department since (I) entered the company."

5 *"Tsumari sono . . ." to madarukkoshii.*

"In short, sono . . ." (Mr. Aoi) said slowly.

6 *"Nyuusha irai, Asahara-san no koto kanshin arimashite . . ."*

(He continued,) "(I) have been interested in you, Asahara-san, since (you) entered the company."

(Tanabe, 1998, pp. 97-98)

In line 1, while Mr. Aoi prepares to reveal his feelings to Ms. Asahara, but he is unable to complete his utterance because of his hesitation to say something more to her. It is likely that the discourse marker *ano* shows that the speaker is telling something important to the listener, and it helps Mr. Aoi shift Ms. Asahara's attention to his next utterance. Additionally, *ano* serves to avoid the speaker's abrupt impression to the listener and expresses his considerate attitude toward the listener (Sadanobu & Takubo, 1995). In line 5, Mr. Aoi attempts to sum up his speech by saying *tsumari* "in short," and he shows his hesitancy to continue the next utterance, using *sono* with elongation. In this way, *sono* partially serves to show the speaker's continuing turn in this context. What is important is that Mr. Aoi refers to the utterances mentioned in lines 3 and 4 through which Mr. Aoi tells her that he has known her for a long period of time. While the speaker's attempt has been slightly achieved after the utterance in line 3, he wants to add his comment to what she has said in line 4. In this example, the discourse marker *ano* occurs before the speaker begins to produce the important utterance and uses *sono* after briefly explaining it to the listener and highlighting the utterance that immediately follows.

We see that discourse markers *ano* and *sono* appear according to their respective functions; the speaker first uses the discourse marker *ano*, and afterwards *sono* is used in utterances. The speaker attempts to talk to the listener after using *ano*, but for some reason, the utterance cannot be completed. Thus, the speaker refers to utterances that are understood by interlocutors using *sono*,

whereas he employs *ano* to produce the utterance that is not successfully completed.

Ano and *Sono* in Written Dialogue

I have suggested that *ano* is a cataphoric marker and that *sono* is an anaphoric marker when they are used as discourse markers. From this point of view, these discourse markers are not interchangeable. *Ano* indexes what immediately follows in the utterance, implying that the speaker uses it before producing the utterance. In my data the types of utterances that follow are different, and it is considered that in this way the speaker mitigates an utterance that implies a face-threatening act (Brown & Levinson, 1987). As Goffman (1974) points out, it is important for the speaker to use discourse markers in the initial position of the utterance before producing the utterance.

The discourse marker *sono* may point to what has been mentioned in the context and play a role as an anaphoric marker. Using *sono*, the speaker refers to what has been already described and comments on it. As one of the characteristics of the discourse marker *sono*, the speaker does not clearly indicate what has been referred to in the context of the statement. Nevertheless, the speaker continues to speak, assuming that the topic may have been already discussed with the listener. Unlike the discourse marker *ano*, *sono* commonly occurs before the speaker explains something to the listener. Also, using *sono*, utterances that might be unnecessary are left out by the speaker, but *ano* requires the utterance which follows it and does not function without it. In Japanese, both *ano* and *sono* serve as discourse markers. However, the two words function differently in conversation, and the positions in which they occur are different. Due to the nature of the discourse markers, speakers cannot use them interchangeably.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that the discourse markers *sono* and *ano* play an important role in focusing an utterance in Japanese conversation, particularly where the speaker and the listener attempt to meet certain social expectations. Using the cataphoric marker *ano*, the speaker produces an utterance that may interrupt the listener but effectively avoids making the listener feel interrupted. In this way, the speaker is able to elicit the listener's involvement in the conversation. On the other hand, the anaphoric marker *sono* is a linguistic device by which the speaker does not directly produce the point of the utterance but provides a clue that the listener may understand. For this reason, the Japanese speaker may expect that the topic of the conversation has been shared by both interlocutors, and that the listener is considered to be part of a previous or ongoing conversation.

Since the data analyzed in this paper were extracted only from fiction and non-fiction stories, the discourse markers have been used in distinct contexts.

However, the data show that the discourse markers *ano* and *sono* cannot be used interchangeably because of their functions and their positions in the utterances, just as demonstrative adjectives *ano* and *sono* are used for different purposes. In this study, it was impossible to ascertain the correlation of functions between these discourse markers and the demonstrative adjectives.

For further research, data from naturally occurring conversation should be collected and examined for the use and function of these discourse markers. Furthermore, it is possible to speculate that native speakers of Japanese might have some prototypical co-occurring contextual features with respect to *ano* and *sono* as discourse markers. Since it is difficult for many second/foreign language learners of Japanese to use discourse markers appropriately, it might be beneficial for them to have a better understanding of the correct usage of discourse markers in order to communicate successfully with native Japanese speakers.

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Appendix A

Functions of Discourse Markers in Japanese

Cook (1993) All functions are for *ano*

- align a speaker and a listener in face-to-face interaction
- start a conversation or a new turn
- get the attention of the listener
- highlight a proposition that immediately follows
- start a new topic
- disagree with others

Koide (1983)

- increase the politeness of one's speech
- avoid silence that may give the listener mental pressure
- show a speaker's intention to keep the floor and continue one's turn
- show a speaker's hesitancy

Maynard (1989)

- make utterances softer and have less impact
- avoid silence and carry on the verbal interaction (socially motivated fillers)
- show hesitancy and uncertainty
- interrupt the speech cognitively or productively (language production-based fillers)
- achieve the effect of socially packaging one's speech

Sadanobu and Takubo (1995)

- make the listener project what follows
- continue interface with the listener
- *eeto*: work temporarily on producing utterances in the mental database
- *ano*: avoid the abrupt and impertinent impressions of speech
- *ano*: extract linguistic information from the mental database, where various information is stored, data are searched, and calculations are conducted